

## Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 MADRID 01609 021710Z

43

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 EURE-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00 INRE-00

CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05

PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 SAM-01 ACDA-05 ACDE-00 MC-02

OMB-01 IGA-02 /064 W

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O R 021554Z MAR 76

FM AMEMBASSY MADRID

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4804

INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

AMEMBASSY OSLO

USMISSION NATO

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

C O N F I D E N T I A L MADRID 1609

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, SP

SUBJ: REACTION TO THE MINISTER FOR DEFENSE AFFAIRS REMARKS  
ON THE ARMED FORCES IN POLITICS

1. THE FEB 23 REMARKS OF LT. GEN. SANTIAGO Y DIAZ DE  
MENDIVIL, VICE PRESIDENT FOR DEFENSE AFFAIRS, HAVE CAUSED  
SOME REVERBERATIONS BUT LESS THAN FOREIGN PRESS ACCOUNTS WOULD LEAD  
ONE TO BELIEVE. TO RECAPITULATE, SPEAKING TO CESEDEN (THE  
SPANISH WAR COLLEGE) IN THE PRESENCE OF THE PRIME MINISTER  
AND SERVICE MINISTERS, HE FIRST AFFIARMED THE POSITIVE ROLE OF THE  
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PAGE 02 MADRID 01609 021710Z

ARMED FORCES IN GUARANTEEING PERMANENCE AND ORDER BUT ONLY IF

THEY REMAINED ALOOF FROM THE DAILY POLITICS. INDIVIDUAL SOLDIERS COULD ENTERTAIN A COMMITMENT TO A CERTAIN POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY, BUT NOT PARTICIPATE ACTIVELY IN POLITICS.

2. HE ALSO DEFENDED THE WITHDRAWAL OF SPANISH FORCES FROM THE SAHARA AGAINST "THOSE WHO WOULD NOW WRITE A DIFFERENT HISTORY" (APPARENTLY A REFERENCE TO SUCH RIGHTIST GROUPS AS BLAS PINAR'S "FUERZA NUEVA" AND THE CONFEDERATION OF VETERANS, WHO HAVE BEEN PORTRAYING THE WITHDRAWAL AS COWARDICE AND A STAIN ON THE ARMY'S HONOR). IN THE SAHARA THE SPANISH ARMY STOOD ALONE WITHOUT EVEN THE AID OF THE SAHARAN POPULATION WHO PREFERRED TO ATTACK SPANISH SOLDIERS AND INSTALLATIONS AND TO DEMONSTRATE FOR IMMEDIATE WITHDRAWAL, HE SAID.

3. SANTIAGO THEN SWUNG INTO THE BRUNT OF HIS MESSAGE. HE WARNED THAT THE ARMED FORCES HAD MULTIPLIED THEIR INTERNAL EFFORTS TO REPRESS THE "SUBVERSION WHICH PHYSICALLY THREATENS" THE "NATIONAL COMMUNITY AND ITS FUNDAMENTAL VALUES... WHICH IS AGAINST THE FAMILY, RELIGION, AGAINST THE TEACHING INSTITUTIONS AND AGAINST POLITICAL UNITY, NOT FORGETTING ATTACKS ON THE ARMED FORCES AND ITS TRADITIONAL MORAL AND SPIRITUAL VALUES". THESE THREATS ATTEMPT TO UNDERMINE SOCIETY'S BONDS TO DESTROY MAN AS BEARER OF THE IDEALS AND VALUES WHICH GIVE CONSISTENCY TO THE FATHERLAND, CONTINUITY TO TRADITION AND HISTORY HE SAID. THIS SUBVERSION IS "IDEOLOGICAL CONFUSION" WHICH ATTEMPTS TO DESTROY A SOCIETY FROM WITHIN BY ATTACKING RELIGIOUS VALUES, MAKING A NATION'S CITIZENS SERVANTS OF AN INTERNATIONAL AGGRESSION."

4. THE GENERAL'S SPEECH WAS WRITTEN IN HIS OFFICE. IT REFLECTS, PARTICULARLY IN THE BEGINNING, THE GOVT'S VIEW OF THE ARMED FORCES AS THE LAST LINE OF DEFENSE OF PUBLIC ORDER BUT OTHERWISE APOLITICAL. HIS CONCLUDING CADENZA, HOWEVER, IS HARD LINE TRADITIONALIST SPANISH MILITARY THINKING: THE ARMY IS THE PROTECTOR OF TRADITIONAL SPANISH VALUES AND ALSO DEFINES THESE VALUES.

5. SANTIAGO'S REMARKS WERE WIDELY REPORTED AND CAUSED UNDERSTANDABLE CONCERN, BECAUSE THEY WERE INTERPRETED NOT ONLY AS DIRECTED AGAINST COMMUNISTS AND TERRORISTS BUT AS DIRECTED

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 MADRID 01609 021710Z

AGAINST THE DEMOCRATIC LEFT AND AS A RHETORICAL EFFORT TO PUT THE BRAKES ON THE POLITICAL PROCESS.

ONE OF SPAIN'S MOST PRESTIGIOUS JOURNALISTS, LUIS APOSTUA, IMMEDIATELY, IF OBLIQUELY, TOOK THE BUNKER MENTALITY IN THE MILITARY TO TASK IN THE CATHOLIC CENTER NEWSPAPER "YA", SUGGESTING THE MILITARY'S REAL INTEREST LAY IN EUROPEANIZATION AND DEMOCRATIZATION.

6. SANTIAGO AND THE ARMY MINISTER, ALVAREZ-ARENAS, HAVE INDIVIDUALLY AND COLLECTIVELY DONE SEVERAL THINGS BEGINNING WITH THEIR FAMOUS LUNCH WITH GIRON AND RETIRED GENERAL INIESTA CANO THAT SEEM TO PLACE THEM IN THE ANTI-REFORM BUNKER, AT LEAST TEMPERMENTALLY. ALVAREZ-ARENAS HAS ALSO PUBLICLY STATED THAT HE BELIEVES IN THE EXISTENCE OF A CONSPIRACY OF FREE-MASONRY, A BELIEF THAT IS HARD TO SUBSTANTIATE AND EVEN HARDER TO FIND AMONG SPANIARDS, OF WHATEVER POLITICAL PERSUASION, BELOW THE AGE OF 50. LASTLY, AS THE DATT REPORT ENTITLED "ARMY LEADERSHIP EXECUTES RIGHT FACE" (IR 6 889 0047 76 DTG 21/1000 FEB 76) NOTES, THESE MEN HAVE BEEN REPORTED ON REASONABLY GOOD AUTHORITY TO HAVE PASSED, IN SOME WAY OR ANOTHER, THE WORD TO FRAGA THAT HE IS GOING TOO FAR. AL THIS IS OF COURSE DISTURBING. NONETHELESS, THOSE ASSOCIATED WITH THE REFORM EFFORT IN THE GOS, HAVE TO DATE SHRUGGED OFF THIS BEHAVIOUR, E.G., SANTIAGO'S SPEECH WAS CHARACTERIZED TO US BY THE REFORMIST SUBSECRETARY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, MARCELINO OREJA, AS MERELY ADMINISTRATIVE NOISES. THEY CANNOT, OF COURSE, BE HAPPY WITH THE NEOLITHIC OUTLOOK OF SANTIAGO AND ALVAREZ-ARENAS, BUT THEY JUDGE THIS GROUPING NOT REPEAT NOT TO CONSTITUTE A SERIOUS THREAT TO THE PROCESS AT THIS JUNCTURE.

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